RRR
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Stranded in Dolesville?

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

First, let's see what went right. The neocons didn't get their man. Neither Colin Powell nor Lamar! Alexander panned out, and *The Weekly Standard* writhed with pain. The vast gulf that separates the neocon establishment from the grass roots was never more obvious than during this primary season.

The neocons dominated the right from 1975 until very recently, and by their control of foundations, magazines, journals, and publishing houses, were able to impose a rigid ideological conformity. Very few on the right were not coopted into the lucrative social democratic orbit, and those who weren't, were forced to regroup into an explicitly "paleo" movement.

The goal of the insurgents was to reassert the ideals of the Old Right, not only pre-Kristol but pre-Buckley. Based on a model pioneered by the anti-New Dealers and rediscovered by Murray N. Rothbard, it was a broad coalition of cultural reactionaries, right-wing libertarians, anti-egalitarians, anti-welfarists, anti-gun controllers, secessionists, land-rights people, home schoolers, states-rights people, and anti-imperialists.

The goal of the paleo movement was to reassert traditional American liberty, which—purged of central state intervention—would result once again in self-governing communities, a free-market economy, personal liberty, and the culture and social values of the Old Republic. This has proven to be the dominant paradigm on the right. It is what beat back the neocons, beginning in November 1994, when the House freshmen won on paleo-oriented platforms, and continued in the 1996 Republican primaries.

If no candidate came to represent the paleo program fully—in our view that accounts for why we are now stuck with Dole—the program was tacitly driving the debate throughout the primaries.

Paleoism (broadly speaking, Pat Buchanan's foreign policy and cultural outlook, plus Steve Forbes's economics) was the clear winner over the neocons, who hardly had an audience (outside the *New York Times*). When Bill Kristol barked on television that Pat was not a conservative because conservatives like asserting U.S. military force abroad, his words had no ring of truth. Hey, Mr. Bill, the Cold War is over.

The neocons aren't dead, of course, but they are confused, divided among themselves, and wounded, having lost credibility with the rank and file. Will they go the way of Powell and Alexander? Unfortunately no, for they still have money, publications, and payrollees. But they clearly lack the most important asset intellectual leaders can have: the confidence of the people they are attempting to persuade.

With the surviving candidate, the establishment got its way, but let's remember that Dole took a real beating in the early part of this campaign. Pat pummeled "Beltway Bob" on the Mexican bailout and Steve hammered him on his 16 tax

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P.C. Watch

Military Racism

When two "far-right" white soldiers were arrested in North Carolina for allegedly shooting a black couple, it was the occasion for an Army-wide investigation of racism, and worldwide publicity of the hate crime. Yet none of the coverage gave any details of the killing, which makes one suspicious.

Now, thanks to Sam Francis (3/19/96), we find out that the two victims were drug dealers, offed, as they say in the trade, for selling bad drugs. That's no justification for murder, of course, and neither is the widespread and virulent hatred of white people. Yet, as usual, the minimal publicity given to an anti-white hate crime in California suppressed the racial element.

After Marine Sgt. Jesse. Quintanilla, "a native of Guam," shot and killed Lt. Cols. Daniel Kidd and Thomas Heffner, he informed his fellow soldiers that "I just shot the XO [executive officer]

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and the CO [commanding officer]. I did it for the brotherhood and the brown side. This is only the beginning. We have a hit list. The brothers have been wronged and others are in the pen and more will die unless they are released."

Why, by the way, does the U.S. still hold the distant island of Guam as an expensive colony? Why shouldn't its inhabitants be granted their freedom, and Americans liberated from perpetual welfare payments to the islanders?

The Free Press

A reporter was recently fired by the Gannett-owned Burlington, Vermont, *Free Press*, for having told the truth. When a white woman was tossed out of a city meeting for seeking to speak, being told by the black assistant to Burlington's mayor that it was only for "people of color" to "describe their ethnic experiences" of living in white Vermont, Paul Teetor reported the fact. He was then fired for "inflaming racial tensions." In reporting on the firing, however, the newspaper lied.

Gannett's rule is never to make official victims look bad, whatever the facts. There is even a rating system, by which editors are judged, to keep track of this policy's implementation, called the "All American Contest."

In the ensuing wrongful dismissal suit—unfortunate, since an employer has the right to fire an employee, even for evil reasons—other interesting facts came out. The paper's star columnist has orders to devote at least one in four columns to making minorities look good. After blacks objected to a black murderer's photo being shown, he was never pictured again, despite the massive coverage given to his trial and conviction. Black spokesmen, it turned out, had control over all the newspaper's black-related coverage, since if they "stopped taking the newspaper's calls," the editor explained, he wouldn't be able to raise his All-American rating.

In another incident, the *Free Press* (sic) asked the judge to prevent other media outlets from reporting on the testimony at the trial! The judge said no, of course. (*Wall Street Journal*, 3/18/96)

Gannett's rule is never to make official victims look bad, whatever the facts.

Victim Madam

"Hollywood Madam Heidi Fleiss tells *Jerusalem Report* magazine, 'I don't know about comparing myself to [spy] Jonathan Pollard, but I certainly see myself as a victim of police and government anti-Semitism. I suppose a better comparison would be to the Rosenbergs. they could have easily gone after Charlie Sheen and put him through what they put me through. But they said, "No, let's go get that little Jewish girl on the hill. Let's take every penny that Jewish girl has made."'" (*New York Post*, 3/15/96)

Monkey Business

There was much sympathetic press attention when baboon marrow was transplanted into a San Francisco AIDS patient. But no newspaper at the time reported that virtually every virologist was horrified. Such operations—which have virtually no chance of helping the patient—can wreck havoc on the rest of us, points out scientist Jonathan Allen (*New York Times*, 1/20/96).

Baboon viruses—such as those that cause leukemia and encephalitis—are potentially infectious to humans, but the body's barriers to infection prevent them from being so. A transplant bypasses these barriers.

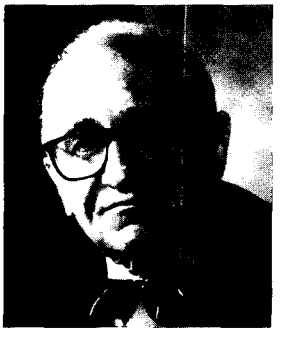
There are also simian viruses close to AIDS which do not harm baboons, but could kill people. And there are undoubtedly undiscovered pathogens as well. To prevent deadly new human epidemics, such operations have almost been banned. Now they are to become more frequent for reasons of political correctness.

Needed: Affirmative Action

Nearly 40% of black men in the 20s in California are in prison, on parole, or on probation, according to the Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice in San Francisco (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 2/12/96). "You don't have to be a genius to know there is something strange in these results," said liberal Mayor Willie Brown. Agreed liberal D.A. Terrance Hallinan, "if an inappropriate number of African Americans is going to jail, then an inappropriate number of everybody is not going. And that should worry us." Since we know that crime rates are uniform across all populations, right, Terry?

Modern Anglicanism

"Plans for a service at Coventry Cathedral celebrating the invention of the motor car and beginning with a Daimler driving down the



Dean of the Austrian School of economics, founder of modern libertarianism, and restorer of the Old Right, Murray N. Rothbard (1926-1995) was a one-man army of liberty. The *RRR* is inspired by his spirit, and dedicated to his vision.

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aisle were criticized by the former Bishop of Birmingham," said the London *Daily Telegraph* (1/15/96).

Not because such a celebration is inappropriate in a church, but because, said Bishop Hugh Montefiore, "the service should be one of penitence for the environmental destruction and deaths caused by the car."

No Longer Unspeakable

Georgetown University, a formerly Catholic school, will no longer require English majors to learn about Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton.

Instead, there is English 114, "History and Theories of Sexuality," which seeks to "historicize contemporary theoretical debates about sexuality, in particular gay and lesbian studies and 'queer' theory as it is informed by African-American and/or feminist concerns."

In English 118, "Unspeakable Lives: Gay and Lesbian Narratives," students "examine strategies of representation occasioned by politically suspect sexualities."

English 105, "Women, Revolution, and the Media," looks at Emma Goldman, Angela Davis, and other commies, and "the role of the media in shaping different gendered, raced, and ideological identities."

Students, says the less-than-eloquent English Department, must be made to understand "the power exerted on our lives by such cultural and performative categories as race, class, gender, sexuality, and nationality, and on the ways in which various kinds of representation aid in the construction, reproduction, and subversion of these categories."

And if they do study retrograde material, says the head of the curriculum committee, students must be taught that, for example, "there are problems in Shakespeare's plays with the way women were portrayed." (*New York Times*, 12/27/95)

Loving the Earth

A good friend, C.C. of Texas, writes to tell us about an episode of a tv show called "Unsolved Mysteries" (NBC, 1/5/96). It seems that Ira Einhorn, founder of the pagan Earth Day celebration, seduced a young girl some years ago, and when she broke off the relationship, she disappeared. Eventually, her dead body was discovered in a locked trunk in Einhorn's apartment. Einhorn was then arrested and charged with murder, but let out on bail through the intercession of his lawyer, Arlen "Magic Bullet" Spector. Einhorn has been on the lam ever since.

Inclusive Scripture

Oxford University Press's inclusive Bible is out. The updated King James Version has such changes as these: KSV: "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" (Luke 2:49) Inclusive: "Did you not know that I must be in the house of my Father-Mother"?

The *Black Bible*, published by the African-American Family Press, offers this new version of the first two verses of Genesis: "Now when the Almighty was first down with His program, He made the Heavens and the earth. The earth was a fashion misfit, being so cool and dark...." (*New York Times*, 12/23/95)

Nice Pants

A New York advertising campaign was denounced as vicious and reactionary for—in the words of the *New York Times* (12/29/95)—"courting vandalism to generate publicity," and had to be cancelled.

Displays of new Docker pants were placed throughout the city. In each, an actual pair of pants was pressed between two heavy-duty sheets of clear plastic, under the headline "Nice Pants."

If the display were pried open by some of the urban youth—something not easily done—and the pants stolen, the display would be left with an outline of the pants reading, "Apparently they were very nice pants."

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increases. The effect was to weaken Dole until well into the primary season. No matter how many delegates he garnered, Dole was clearly the last gasp of a dying generation.

Nor does it take a political maven or perpetual cynic to know that Dole would be a horrendous president. Wholly owned by the special interests, he would raise our taxes, expand the government, diminish our liberties, and probably get us into a hot war. But that's not the platform he campaigned on.

At every speech, Dole held up his index card with the 10th amendment and read that most "paleo" part of the Constitution. Until very recently, the 10th was taboo, and it was our side of the right that brought states rights back into the discussion.

Throughout his campaign, Dole also claimed that he would cut taxes and regulations; he condemned cultural rot; and he displayed an evident non-interest in foreign affairs—basically the paleo platform. Most importantly, Dole never advocated any expansion in the power of the federal government.

That last point is crucial. All polls suggests that the only issue that unites most Americans is their distrust of the feds. At this point in history, it is death to call for an increase in federal power, especially in the form of taxes, and especially in Republican primaries. Dole's advisers were smart enough to know this, and Dole campaigned as an anti-government conservative.

Jacob Weisberg, writing in *New York* magazine, even argued that Dole, like Newt Gingrich, is a "pseudo-libertarian," that is, a big-government conservative who talks like us.

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In some crucial respects, however, Pat and Steve failed the test that Dole passed: of refusing to endorse expanded government power. For example, exit polls show that Steve would have done much better had he not called for a repeal of deductions.

Steve wanted a "pure" flat tax, based on the nutty notion that it is possible to construct a tax that is not economically destructive. It is not, which is why taxes must be kept as low as possible. So his opposition to the mortgage-interest deduction worked at cross purposes with his attempt to court families, by arguing that high taxes should not force both parents to work.

Repealing the mortgage deduction could only make it more difficult to make ends meet. And by opposing the charitable deduction, Steve harmed himself with the already suspicious Christian right, since these people are heavy givers to their churches. Likewise, his support in high-tax states like New York was undercut by his opposition to the deduction for state and local taxes. On all these issues, Steve might as well have said: "Vote for me. I'll raise your taxes."

Now to Pat. It's hard to remember, but he entered this race with strong anti-government credentials. He had opposed George Bush in 1992, after all, for raising our taxes. And for a while, he played this theme up, running on states rights and anti-environmentalism in Alaska, against quotas in Louisiana, and against the New World Order in Iowa. He was magnificent on the Mexican bailout, Gatt, and Nafta, and deserves a medal for going after the party establishment, a corrupt conglomerate of liars and fakers.

Yet it was in Iowa that he also began, in accordance with Rothbard's Law, to specialize in what he was worst at. He redirected his ire away from government and toward business. Soon, Pat was touting the view that corporations, not big government, are the cause of the fall in jobs, wages, and the standard of living.

After he took this plunge into murky waters, Pat's opponents began to accuse him of being a socialist. This was nonsense, of course, yet Pat sometimes seemed opposed to free enterprise itself.

The neocons aren't dead, of course, but they are confused, divided among themselves, and wounded.

Pat argued that 19th-century American was prosperous not because of very limited government, strong property rights, and free markets, but because of tariffs. He defended striking union workers at Boeing and General Motors, called for a federal ban on "scabs," advocated government design of the economy in favor of industrial workers, and called laissez-faire capitalism "the law of the jungle."

There is nothing wrong, and much right, with going after Wall Street and large corporations. But we have to be clear what we are talking about. The corporate elite is not bad because it is corporate, nor elite, nor rich, nor looks out for the bottom line. The job of business, after all, is to make profits; and you can't help workers by attacking their employers. Wall Street is bad only to the extent that it is connected to big government. Pat left that part out.

Pat was heroic in his criticism of Nafta and Gatt, but he recommended something just as complex and unfortunate. His list of tariffs and reasons for their various levels was as convoluted and statist as the treaties themselves.

Pat was driven in part by the perceived need to "define" himself apart from Steve, with the most obvious target being Steve's money. Thus Pat made frequent references to Steve's inherited wealth, his mansion, his yacht, his "little prep school," etc. Pat had convinced himself that voters hate all these things, which, if he had taken time to think about it, he might have realized is actually not the case.

Americans—especially Republicans—have always loved capitalism as the system of economic opportunity. And they have always loved successful capitalists, as long as they have obtained their wealth fair and square, as Steve surely did.

Class envy, as Pat used to argue, is not a political seller in America, and thank goodness. It is the central state, not the business class for goodness sakes, that is our enemy.

And whatever one thinks about tariffs, they are another form of taxation. By endorsing them in a range between 10 and 50 percent, Pat called for massive tax increases, and therefore bigger government. That is why he began to lose credibility.

Abortion and cultural restoration are important (although we shouldn't elect a president to restore our culture so much as to eliminate the federally caused rot). Pat's mercantilism is just plain wrong. But what's most striking is that during the latter part of his campaign, he never seemed to mention the evils of unconstitutional government power.

Pat's anti-business attacks grew worse in Arizona, and this in a state filled with Republican retirees who made their money through business. Pat even denounced corporations that "think they are above governments." And there you had it: he asserted the primacy of government power over the free actions of people in the market. He even characterized businessmen as "killers" and "butchers," rhetoric seldom seen in American politics.

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"I'm beginning to think I'm going all the way," Pat told a reporter just before Arizona. But Forbes turned out to be the clear winner.

And in South Carolina, there was little market for protectionism among Republicans. The state benefits enormously from cross-border trade. Worse, in a speech, broadcast all over the South, Pat mimicked Clinton with an imitation Southern accent.

Every Southerner is offended when a Yankee impersonates a Southern voice, no matter the intended target. Even Pat's embrace of the Southern flag did not entirely overcome the effects of his performance. And by the time Georgia and New York rolled around, where it became clear that Pat would not regain his momentum, for the message of the campaign had come down to this: ban abortion and ban trade.

(Note: A constitutional amendment against abortion not only violates the federalist principle, it is dangerous. Who believes that a federal bureau of abortion would not be used for tyranny? Instead, Congress should vote—as the Constitution allows—to strip the federal courts of all jurisdiction over abortion and related issues. This would in effect repeal Roe v. Wade, and the pro-life battle could be fought, as it ought to be, in the states.)

Restricted to trade and abortion, Pat did well to get as far as he did. Georgia exit polls showed trade fears were good for about 6 percent of the Republican vote. Anti-abortion was good for another 11 percent. That's 17 percent, which is not much of a base on which to win the nomination.

New York's exit polls were even more revealing. Outside the city, many of the delegates in this conservative Catholic state should have been Pat's. Instead he got none. Among voters who said taxes were the top issue, Pat picked up 7 percent. Among those who said the economy and jobs, Pat got 13 percent. For those who hated deficits, he got 5 percent. Pat's anti-wealth message was heard: he received 8 percent from people who make more than $75,000 per year.

Were these voters merely "worshipping at the altar of efficiency," as Pat likes to say? No, these people were concerned about their future, with many of them angry at government for destroying their economic lives.

But what about culture and religion? Important, yes, but they were not the top political issues, and even among those who said they were, Pat had a less than impressive showing. Among those who said abortion was the top priority, he got a majority, but Dole got 35 percent and even Forbes picked up 14 percent. Among Catholics, who should have been Pat's strongest supporters, he picked up only 16 percent, while Forbes picked up 27 percent.

What prevented Pat from busting out of the phone booth? The party establishment hated his guts. And the media played a role too. Acting as virtual negative-ad merchants for the Dole campaign, they smeared him as anti-Semitic, racist, homophobic, xenophobic, and all the rest of the usual litany of libel. The neocons were vicious as well, and as usual, with the hate-filled *Standard* deserving a Nobel in defamation.

Every Southerner is offended when a Yankee impersonates a Southern voice.

But the fundamental reason Pat lost is clear. He was insufficiently anti-tax and anti-government for Republican primaries; he adopted economic views that do not connect with anyone's reality; and he turned what was supposed to be a right-wing populist campaign into what sounded, on occasion, like a left-wing one.

After "Junior Tuesday," Pat began to speculate on his weakness at the polls. What had caused his problem? In Arizona, he said, it was Forbes's money and absentee ballots. In New York, it was the establishment rigging the game. Meanwhile, his campaign staff fell into mutual recriminations for turning what appeared to be an inevitable victory (even to me) into defeat.

But this is far from the end. Pat is smart and introspective. We can hold out hope that in 2000—when he will run again—he will embrace the entire paleo program: economic freedom, property rights, drastic tax and spending cuts, no new taxes in the form of tariffs, an America First foreign policy, gun rights, cultural conservatism, and opposition to the welfare state and immigration.

This can be a winning platform, unlike a variant of Lane Kirkland Republicanism, and it's an intellectually coherent program as well. Middle-class welfare isn't consistent with traditional values, since the welfare state undermines them fatally. We can't expect a rebirth of the old culture until Leviathan is slain, we recapture our freedom in economic relations, and our families and communities prosper again.

We cannot have smaller government if we are going to empower the central state to decide what American producers and consumers are going to buy and from where. We can't have an America First foreign policy if the U.S. government's mission is to impose American products on countries halfway around the globe. Government is either limited in its powers or it is not.

Even aside from the right presidential candidate, however, what we need is the right constellation of social forces to make it impossible for the country to move in an anti-

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paleo direction.

There's good reason to believe those forces are upon us now. Suddenly, thanks to both Pat and Steve, all sorts of issues are no longer taboo: the decline in the standard of living, the New World Order, the crimes of Goldman Sachs, the costs of immigration, the evil of the Republican Party establishment, the depredations of the tax police, the glories of the gold standard, and much more. Moreover, all the movements that gave rise to the Republican House takeover in 1994 are still with us, and growing.

No, we are not stranded in Dolesville. Despite the establishment's bravado, it is as weak as it's been in many years. The government and the media have lost nearly all credibility, the neocons are scattered, the left is out of it, and the paleos are on the march. We'll look back at these primaries—despite their maddening conclusion—as an essential step in that process.

Middle-class welfare isn't consistent with traditional values, since the welfare state fatally undermines them.

The Liberal Attack on Middle-Class Birthrates

by Michael Levin

The commonplace that political labels have become useless is emphatically true of "liberalism." A "liberal," according to the dictionary, favors "freedom of action, especially with respect of personal belief or expression" and is "open-minded or tolerant...not bound by conventional ideas." But how do high taxes and government regulation promote freedom of action, or speech codes open-mindedness?

A good rule of thumb for puzzling out unclear words is to ignore their official definitions and heed what they are actually applied to. In particular, if you want to understand liberalism, list positions typically held by people who call themselves liberals, and see what unites these positions.

Without pretending to completeness, it is safe to say that liberals favor: use of tax revenues to support the poor; preference for nonwhites over whites in employment; enforced school integration; expanding the rights of criminals; social acceptance of and civil rights for homosexuals; abortion; abolition of sex roles; placing human interests behind those of plants and animals; and government rectification of "market failure." What thread is common?

The first six concerns do involve freedom of a sort, at least for the hapless, nonwhite, criminal, homosexual, and abortion-minded. Liberals seek to enhance the *power* of these individuals, their ability to do what they want, so that the poor can enjoy more goods and services, more homosexuals and blacks can get jobs, black children can attend school with whites, criminals can avoid punishment, and women can get abortions.

However, this particular kind of freedom, sometimes called "positive," is apt to collide with the "negative" freedom (or immunities) of others—of wage earners to keep their money, of employers to hire whom they please, of ordinary citizens to form voluntary associations and conduct their affairs in safety, of unborn children not to be killed.

As for the last three liberal positions—environmentalism, hostility to sex roles, and mistrust of the market—they are irrelevant or positively inimical to "freedom of action." So the commitment of liberals to liberty is at best equivocal.

What does unite the articles of liberalism, I believe, is antagonism to the fertility of the (overwhelmingly white) middle class. They all make it harder for white middle-class married couples to have babies. This is most clear in the case of liberal tenets that require transfer of resources from such couples to the lower class, people with illegitimate children, people unlikely to have any children at all, or spotted owls.

Fewer resources make offspring a chancier proposition for the middle class, reducing what biologists delicately call mating behavior. For their part, abortion destroys offspring directly while annulling months of reproductive investment, and feminism opposes the very institution of "traditional" motherhood. Since abortion and other feminist notions are most appealing to middle-class and elite women, their fertility is most affected.

A demographic description of liberalism sounds strange, but it fits everyday experience. Whites are having fewer children than anyone else. Statistically, middle- and upper-class white women in the U.S. have fewer than 1.7 babies, far below the replacement rate, while fertility for the rest of the population exceeds 2.3 babies per woman. Why? Well, ask any middle-class couple that has managed to stay married why they do not have more children, and you will probably be told how costly children are. Children can't normally be insupportable or the human race wouldn't be

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here, so the problem must be local. Children have gotten more expensive lately.

One stunningly obvious reason for this is the enormous transfer of wealth from the productive to the unproductive. Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Food Stamps, Head Start, rental "assistance," and similar direct subsidies now consume more than 5% of the gross national product, a figure which at least doubles when the access of the unproductive to schools, hospitals, roads, airports, and other public facilities is added.

Productive individuals would find children more affordable were they allowed to keep more of their earnings, but welfare puts their earnings at the disposal of non-producers, who have children they could not afford on their own. The transfer of resources through welfare affects reproduction, since one way or another most resources are directed to reproduction.

A further liberal contraceptive, seldom acknowledged but very real, is forced integration of the public schools. The white middle class fund public education with their taxes, but outside of the suburbs are deeply reluctant to utilize it. When the proportion of blacks at a school passes a critical point, violence accelerates and academic achievement plummets. Placing a child in such a place is unthinkable for many parents, leaving private school the only alternative. But private schools, having to compete with public schools and their fees being non-deductible, are expensive—a further pressure against having children.

Racial preferences is another inhibitor, transferring to blacks and females hundreds of thousands of jobs and positions and their attendant resources that would otherwise have gone to white males. Of course, a white male who loses one job to affirmative action may find another, but it will be less desirable; he has suffered a net loss in resources, and therefore a loss in reproductive potential, which accrues to someone else.

That someone else is typically nonwhite, but the white reproductive potential is not restored if the job goes to a white woman—even the wife of the man who lost it—since full-time working women are far less likely to have children than non-working wives of working men. 55% of female executives in the U.S. are barren. The simple arithmetic of human reproduction—almost a year to carry a baby, a minimum of three years of constant attention after birth—make it almost impossible for a woman intending to work full time to bear more than two children.

A major anti-natal force has been the massive entry of middle-class married women into the workforce.

In fact, a major anti-natal force has been the massive entry of middle-class married women into the workforce, about which feminism-liberalism has spoken with a sharply forked tongue. Feminists first hailed paid labor as vital for female autonomy, but soon after—to distance themselves from the stress felt by working women—attributed the working mother to "economic necessity."

It is hard to say how influential feminism has actually been, but feminists clearly would like women to adopt habits that exclude married motherhood. The idea underlying all feminist rhetoric—"traditional mores oppress," "sex differences are artifacts," etc.—is that women should be as interested in extrafamilial pursuits as men are.

But if men pursue careers while their wives care for the children, and *women* pursue careers while...who, exactly?...cares for the children, there will be no one to care for the children, and in time no children to care for. The very idea that encouraging men but not women to attend college is a "double standard" that exerts anti-natal pressure, since the four college years are the most nubile years for women. Since brighter middle-class girls are the ones most apt to attend college, they are the ones whose fertility is reduced. Sweden, which has most fully adopted sexual egalitarianism, has the lowest birthrate in Europe.

On "Being Jewish"

by Paul Gottfried

A lead essay by Philip Weiss in *New York* magazine, "Being Jewish," has evoked considerable excitement in paleo circles, and friends have flooded me with copies of this piece together with requests for my comments. Characteristic of Weiss's main argument is the passage on the magazine cover: "As anti-Semitism fades and Jews assume ever greater prominence throughout the Establishment, it's time for Jewish Americans to let go of the idea that they are outsiders."

Weiss cites the obvious evidence of American Jewish economic and professional success, e.g., Jewish over-representation in the arts and sciences and among the Fortune 500, and he reasonably concludes that any problem of exclusion which faced Jews in the past no longer exists. What bedevils American Jewry,

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according to Weiss, are two problems: collective memories of gentile persecution, which have left Jews nurturing an exaggerated fear of American anti-Semitism, and the challenge of an open society, one in which Jews have conspicuously succeeded.

Middle-aged and older American Jews, according to Weiss, are still preoccupied with Christian anti-Semitism while fearing the implications of a tolerant society. "As an American Jew," notes Weiss, "I have a largely unlimited social and professional scope. I'm free to do almost anything I want in this society, including marrying out."

Despite what we are led to believe was strong Wasp prejudice directed specifically at Jews, the elder Weiss is "at the top of his field."

Weiss treats the twin fears of persecution and assimilation as indicative of Jewish alienation. Like Benjamin Ginsberg in *The Fateful Embrace* and Stanley Rothman in *The Roots of American Radicalism*, albeit in less detail, he also speculates on the tie between this alienation and Jewish leftist politics. Weiss cites his own father, a prominent scientist now aged seventy, to illustrate this connection.

The senior Weiss and his wife denounced the judge who sentenced the Rosenbergs as a self-hating WASP Jew. They were also associated with various leftwing causes as an effect of their sense of social exclusion. When the younger Weiss observed to his father that Jews, including (and perhaps especially) liberal ones, vented hatred on Christians, the father typically responded: "We know the harm of anti-Semitism. What harm can there be in a minority's feelings against Christians?" Weiss explains that though his father "is at the top of his field, he still carries memories of unfair exclusion."

Weiss concludes that such resentment no longer makes sense in the economic and professional world he has seen. Here Jews are courted by gentiles and "Young Wasps clamor to work at 'Jewish' investment houses." Moreover, "the political scientist Seymour Martin Lipset notes that charity doyennes in New York and Los Angeles recruit rich Jews for most Whartonesque balls."

Weiss seems annoyed by the statements about widespread latent Christian anti-Semitism made by the ADL and *New Republic*-owner Martin Peretz. Seeking Jewish unity, such victimologists "invoke a model of Establishment anti-Semitism and Jewish victimization that doesn't exist today." According to Weiss, such types also deny the presence of Jewish clout in the media, journalism, and the entertainment industries. Whenever confronted by an observation about Jewish dominance in these areas, such pleaders denounce the one making it as an anti-Semite or self-hating Jew.

Most remarkable about Weiss's statements has been his willingness to make them in the presence of Jewish organization leaders. He has argued with Abe Foxman about the view of American Jewry as a threatened minority in a hostile country. He has also taken on the Holocaust icon and questioned whether memories of past persecution in a distant land can serve as the spiritual and moral center of gravity for those in patently different circumstances. He has, finally, challenged American Jews' easy acceptance of Zionist rhetoric. Here Weiss has not so much brought up the question of dual loyalty as underlined the irrelevance of Israeli nationalism for Jews who do not intend to move to Israel.

He hints at the problem that Jacob Neusner has raised more emphatically: the striking disparity between pronouncements about Israel and living preferences among self-identified American Jews. Why don't more of these Jews act on the basis of the Zionist positions they at least intermittently profess to believe?

If they think Israel is their homeland and that the U.S. may replicate Nazi atrocities, why do people with such sentiments and anxieties remain around? Equally pertinent for me is the question of how can those who subscribe to the Jewish nationalist views of the World Zionist Congress and other Zionist organizations dismiss as anti-Semitism the charge of dual allegiance. In fact, if one does subscribe to the positions of these groups, one is guilty not of dual allegiance but of a sole allegiance, to another country.

Having praised Weiss for his candor, it also seems necessary to point out the occasional silliness that mars his presentation. He is writing a critique of American Jewish craziness as someone not totally free of its effects. He himself sees anti-Semites creeping out of walls. He identifies Pat Robertson and, by implication, other Christian traditionalists, as anti-Semites and then offers the following description of something he noticed on his honeymoon in Montana five years ago: "A red pickup went by with a country-looking driver, the very embodiment of all the values that my family had kept at bay. Probably not that smart, either. And given the landscape, a Jew-hater too."

Weiss's indulgent Wasp wife had just made the saccharine observation that everyone had a right to feel "special," after hubby had harangued her about the "specialness" of the Jewish people, as viewed by his family (and presumably by him-

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self). Clearly Weiss did not believe that a Montana rancher has any right to feel special and, on the basis of a spot check, had summarily condemned him as a "Jew-hater."

His own assumptions about anti-Semitism in the American past and the tough row that his father hoed are equally open to question. Despite what we are led to believe was strong Wasp prejudice directed specifically at Jews, the elder Weiss is "at the top of his field." This is not a judgment that could apply to Jews like myself who have tweaked Jewish liberals in today's society, but it is applied to Weiss's father, whose talents carried him quite far among supposedly bigoted goyim.

This was the case not only for an alleged victim of prejudice but also for someone described as an enraged leftwing radical seething with hatred for gentiles. How could such a fellow succeed in Waspdom as imagined by Weiss? Unfortunately what he describes of this now vanished society which I can still corroborate, namely Yale before the late sixties, does not in any way resemble my own memories.

Unlike Weiss's society of unfeeling Wasp patricians, the antediluvian Yale I recall, in the early and mid-sixties, had overly courteous Protestants, energetic Catholics, and boorish, resentful Jews. This was especially true of the graduate school where Jews, mostly from New York, yammered constantly about their exclusion (from what?). The goyim listened patiently to these complaints, like Weiss's lobotomized "philosemitic" wife, and reassured their Jewish classmates that "things are changing."

All my Jewish colleagues in graduate school, noisy anti-anti-Communists, opposed American capitalist imperialism, but then became enthusiastic warmongers during the Arab-Israeli War in 1967. One Jewish Marxist acquaintance went into a rage that the Israelis did not demand the entire Mideast at the end of that war. Another, though a feminist, lamented that the Israeli soldiers did not rape more Arab women. It would be no exaggeration to say that my graduate school days resounded with Jewish hysterics at an institution where Wasps seemed to count only as decoration.

Moreover, the record of anti-Jewish discrimination to which Weiss refers, in trying to demonstrate that it is vanishing, was not exclusively discrimination against Jews. It was socially-motivated, sporadic discrimination against non-Wasp non-patricians. Thomas Sowell shows that its earliest victims were the Scotch-Irish who in the 18th century were discouraged from studying or teaching at Yale. Upper-class Yankee dominance there could be seen, according to Sowell, by looking at the South English names of faculty and students into the early 19th century—and the comments about predominantly Irish backwoodsmen. And it is often left out of consideration that the quotas on Jewish applicants in the Ivy League was even more restrictively applied against Catholics. The Catholic quotas were often the same as the Jewish ones, though they applied to a much larger portion of the total population.

The quotas on Jewish applicants in the Ivy League was even more restrictively applied against Catholics.

Having read, with varying degrees of thoroughness depending on the section, Leonard Dinnerstein's history of American anti-Semitism, I find there the same ethnocentric error as the one pervading Weiss's view of the American past. Anything short of equal esteem being enjoyed by all social and ethnic groups is treated as evidence of onerous discrimination. And such discrimination is seen as targeting Jews (or Jews and blacks) specifically, even when directed equally at white Christians. For the thousandth time, it might be useful to repeat a criterion of anti-Semitism first brought to my attention by Murray N. Rothbard.

What is explicitly anti-Semitic must aim at excluding Jews *specifically* from some civic or political or economic right enjoyed by everyone else. Much of what Dinnerstein and Weiss treat as anti-Semitic may result in excluding Jews from some advantage, but not exclusively on the basis of their being Jewish. E.G., the colonies of early America would not grant full political or civic equality to those who did not belong to established churches; and later, upper-class Wasps tried to keep other groups from attending their schools or working in their firms. Such discrimination was not specifically anti-Jewish, and most of the same exclusion that Eastern European Jews encountered from established Protestants they also had to endure from their German and Sephardic fellow-Jews.

Undoubtedly there was and is anti-Semitic feeling in the U.S., but not enough to justify the constant complaining that comes from Jewish organizations and neocon journalists. Almost all American anti-Semitism, moreover, now comes from blacks, a fact that Weiss tries to sidestep in his comments about the objects of black hostility. Far easier to level the accusation of hating Jews against Montana ranchers who are presumably conservative and go to white churches. Having met such people, I know they are actually far more offensive than Weiss, Foxman, and Peretz could ever imagine. In all likelihood, they don't even think of Jews, and have no interest at all in

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the authorized obsessions of Weiss's companions.⊠

The Old Right Opposed Tariffs

by L.H.R., Jr.

The Old Right was a principled band of intellectuals and activists, many of them libertarians, who fought the "industrial regimentation" of the New Deal, and were the first to note that, in America, statism and corporativism are inseparable.

Despite some current claims, however, these writers ardently defended capitalism, including big business and corporations, celebrated the profit motive, and took a strict laissez-faire attitude toward international trade. They loathed tariffs, and saw protectionism as a species of socialist planning.

Frank Chodorov was a central intellectual figure on the Right from the 1920s to the 1950s, editing the early *Freeman* magazine and founding *Human Events* and the Intercollegiate Studies Institute. A prolific writer, Chodorov guided two generations of students and activists to the literature of liberty, and urged no compromise with the central state.

He proudly wore the label "isolationist" and saw U.S. entry into the two world wars as a horrendous mistake because it bolstered militarism and big government in America. To Chodorov, isolationism was "not a political policy," but the proper and "natural attitude." People are rightly concerned with family and neighbors, he said, not foreign peoples and their troubles.

But, as he made clear, Chodorov's isolationism had nothing to do with international economics. Free trade with other nations is part of the normal working of the economy, which stems from being concerned with the well being of our own families and communities. Chodorov was aghast when some people tried to make "America First" mean "Buy American": that is, "economic, rather than political, isolationism."

"Economic isolationism—tariffs, quotas, embargoes, and general governmental interference with international trade—is an irritant that can well lead to war," he wrote. "To build a trade wall around a country is to invite reprisals"; it generates "misunderstanding and mistrust." To Chodorov, "Free trade is natural, protectionism is political."

John T. Flynn, the great journalist and leader of the America First Committee, agreed with Chodorov. "The last seventy years of American history," he wrote in 1944, "have been a struggle between the ideal of free enterprise and the determination to restrain and regiment it." Business "comprises the whole immense web of producing and distributing enterprises," but tragically, "some men, for various reasons, set out to interfere in the natural workings of this immense organism."

The tariff is "indistinguishable from sheer robbery."

Flynn condemns domestic industrial planning, among other reasons, because it leads to trade barriers. "The first condition of a planned economy is that it shall be a closed economy," he wrote. That's why socialists want "an impenetrable wall around" the nation, keeping out "every kind of goods and striving for a complete self-sufficiency. Of course, this is not practical anywhere."

Although a nationalist, Flynn understood the difference between caring about putting one's country first and trade restriction, which he saw as having a socialist and fascist pedigree. The link between protection and planning, he pointed out, was not disputed even on the left. To Stuart Chase, the New Dealer who coined the term, "national planning and economic nationalism must go together or not at all."

Flynn's view, toughened with a right-wing anarchist edge, was also that of Albert Jay Nock, the author and social critic who inspired several generations with his biting attacks on collectivism, egalitarianism, and modernity. As a writer for *Harper's*, he helped make anti-statism the political center of pre-war American conservatism.

He too was against entering any foreign war, and thus was an isolationist. But protectionist? "We all now know pretty well," he wrote in 1935, "that the primary reason for a tariff is that it enables the exploitation of the domestic consumer by a process indistinguishable from sheer robbery."

"By putting a tariff against the importation, say, of wool, the State permits the domestic wool-producing interests to levy a tax upon consumers of wool to the amount of the excess in price over the price determined by supply and demand in a free competitive market. These interests give the consumer nothing in return for the tax; the State gives them as beneficiaries, the privilege of levying it, and they accordingly do so."

Felix Morley was more of a traditionalist. He won the hearts of conservatives by defecting as editor of the *Washington Post* and later becoming editor of *Human Events*, as well as the author of brilliant books on federalism and foreign policy. He was an America Firster, an isolationist, and a right-wing populist to boot.

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But when it came to free enterprise, there was no compromise: it must not stop at the border. "Unrestricted competition is essential to economic freedom," he wrote. "Indeed, it can be said that competition *is* freedom, as distinct from the personal attribute of liberty." In an "advancing civilization the objective with regard to the market will always be the removal of restrictions to trade."

But Morley doubted that businessmen would be the best defenders of the market. Too often, they "have worked openly and surreptitiously for high tariffs and other governmental favors." As an example, he cites the industrial protectionism of the 19th century.

The preeminent economic theorist of the Old Right was Henry Hazlitt. Kicked out of *The Nation* because he opposed FDR's fascist National Recovery Act, he was made editor of *The American Mercury* by H.L. Mencken. During the heyday of Keynesianism, Hazlitt thrilled the free-market right with his column in *Newsweek*. He was also second to none in his hatred of government intervention, including protectionism and economic nationalism.

Hazlitt's *Economics In One Lesson*, still in print after fifty years, devotes two chapters to the fallacies of protectionism and subsidized exports. As Hazlitt demonstrates, "The tariff—though it may increase wages above what they would have been in the protected industries—must on net balance, when all occupations are considered, reduce real wages."

There were Old Rightists who worried about free international trade. Toward the end of his life, essayist Garet Garrett came to favor closed borders—to both imports and exports—because he worried about the war potential of forcing foreign consumers to buy U.S. products. At the same time, big business never had a greater champion than Garrett. A biographer rightly called him "Profit's Prophet."

Current restrictionist trade theories in the conservative movement therefore are not those of the Old Right. Their intellectual legacy is more likely British mercantilism.

The Old Right saw Britain's influence on American foreign policy as entirely pernicious. And we can add to Albion's litany of crimes, her influence on our economic policy.▣

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Is it my imagination, or is the *Wall Street Journal*'s op-ed page getting loopier by the day?

The Haloed Atom

by L.H.R., Jr.

Is it my imagination, or is the *Wall Street Journal*'s op-ed page getting loopier by the day? It was once a page of some consequence, actually airing opinions on events of the day. These days, you never know. One day it's hard journalism that the front page wouldn't run. The next it's detailed treatises on management practices that trade publications wouldn't accept.

But surely the looniest piece ever run on this page appeared under the title "The Spirit of Technology" by Tom Mahon (who "writes from the San Francisco Bay area") and illustrated by an atom with a halo. What is this piece about? The technological urgency of overthrowing old religions and replacing them with a new conception of God.

"When the enslaved Hebrews of Egypt, the downtrodden slaves of imperial Rome, the dispossessed widows and orphans of 7th-century Arabia, and the 'untouchables' of Sid-dhartha's India were suffering in mind and body, they evolved a spiritual response appropriate for their time and circumstances," says Mr. Mahon. The result was "the Bible, the Koran, the Vedas, the Gita, the Tao te Ching, and the teachings of Confucius and Buddha." All of them equal, of course.

Back then, the author continues, when the world was "flat, static, agricultural, and largely illiterate," these books were a "godsend." But nowadays their "cultural contexts" have "been largely superseded." Why? Because now we have the "atom smasher, the gene machine, the digital computer and psychoactive drugs"—uh oh—and "we manipulate matter, life, mind, and mood today in way we thought only God could do 50 years ago."

But wait, there's more: "Until such time as the leaders of the world's religious traditions can transcend their cultural and dogmatic differences, it falls to like-minded

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people to evolve a spirituality appropriate for our time."

Mr. Mahon has taken on the task of "evolving" a new religion all by himself. And he has even presented his conclusions—the whole of his new religion for our new time—right here on the *Wall Street Journal*'s op-ed page!

To think, in the old days, religion was transmitted by hard work and conversion, copying of manuscripts, catechism classes, reflection of the world's great scholars, ecumenical councils. But in the age of the atom smasher, we only need a dollar newspaper to get our doctrine. Here are Mr. Mahon's conclusions about our new religion:

"True spirituality is an exquisite awareness of the interconnection of all things." After all, what is what we call "God" but "the connection of connections, the network of networks, the bond of all bonds." After all, the word "God" is just an "Old English word meaning 'the good'."

"Instead of picturing God as a medieval monarch on a marble throne, imagine God as the living awareness in the space between the atoms." This way we can get "past some of the great theological divides of the past." This way, "when we pray, it's not so important how we bend our knees or fold our arms. The life of the spirit has less to do with angularity of our limbs and more to do with the straightness of our hearts."

One can tolerate, maybe, such rambling from a college student who just sat through his first "philosophy of religion" class, and even then only if it were designed to fool his left-wing professor. (More likely, it would be the result of those "mood altering drugs" Mr. Mahon thinks are so wonderful.) But what can we say when a grown adult, a man "who has spent 25 years writing" about engineering, blabs on like this? More importantly, we can be said about the neocon newspaper that holds it up for our approval?

Mark Your Calendar for the 1996 *RRR* Conference on "The American Political Scam"

Ah, yes. "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people." If only those weren't three different groups!

We once had a free republic that respected individual rights, local rights, states rights, and business rights. Today, despite the democratic myth, the people do not rule in America, but are oppressed.

The majority is tyrannized by a D.C. minority that not only "eats out our substance," in the words of the Declaration of Independence, but sends our sons and daughters to kill and be killed in the wars of empire. It subverts free enterprise, and erects the corporate state. It enforces the evil of egalitarianism. It pollutes our civilization.

Join us for the fifth annual *RRR* conference, October 25-26, 1996, at the Villa Hotel in San Mateo, California, as we consider one of the major props of this entire process: the rotten U.S. political system, its fables and fable writers, its string pullers and those whose strings are pulled, and how—just maybe—we can snip a string or two.

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